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"TO BUILD A BETTER WORLD"
1962 SOCIALIST PLATFORM

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TO BUILD A BETTER WORLD

The 1962 Socialist Platform

SOCIALIST PARTY, U. S. A.

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The Socialist Party is the organized expression of democratic socialism in the United States. It was founded in 1901. It is the sole U. S. affiliate of the Socialist International, the body to which the major socialist and labor parties of the world belong. Under the leadership of two great Americans, Eugene V. Debs and Norman Thomas, the Socialist Party has made many signal contributions to American life. With the onset of a new period of political soulsearching, many Americans are turning toward democratic socialism as a source of new ideas, inspiration, guidance; and it is to them that we commend this platform. It is our hope that all who share our vision will join with us in building our party into an ever more effective instrument for translating our ideals into living reality.

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INTRODUCTION

These are times of basic crisis and fundamental decision. Yet, as never before in our national life, there is failure of vision, listlessness of the political and moral imagination.

During the Eisenhower Fifties there was complacency and celebration, and only the barest recognition of the most obvious challenges at home and abroad. In the first two years of the Kennedy Administration there has been a certain reawakening of social conscience, but this has been sporadic, focused on limited and specific issues, unmindful of the enormous options facing the world in which we live.

The plain fact is that mankind is in the process of a breakthrough more dramatic and profound than the conquest of outer space; at a turning point more decisive than the transition from stone age to bronze.

We are coming to live in an unprecedented environment. An entire planet is being made subject to a revolutionary technology which reshapes men and women as well as things. Whole populations are about to live under fundamentally new conditions.

This modern technology is one of the two radical facts of our time. In the form of nuclear weapons, it holds out the possibility of an ultimate war, of annihilation at worst and an incalculable retrogression of civilization at best. Within domestic society, the new technology could become the basis of the most comprehensive and anti-human tyranny man has ever known; or it could fulfill the immemorial dream of humankind for a life of decency and dignity.

The modern technology is social. Domestically it has already produced an integrated economy. It is creating one world whether we recognize the fact or not. When power takes on this character, when it becomes concentrated and all-embracing, its use can no longer safely be decided by minority elites acting in their own self-interest. If man is to survive, and if we are to use our technology for the deepening of freedom, our only hope lies in the popular assertion of democratic control over the means of production and destruction.

For man is the second radical fact of our time. We will impart purpose to our new technology; the choice is ours. It may be that we shall be overwhelmed by the genius of our own hands, that we are unequal to the challenge of what we ourselves have made. If so, we will have failed and failed radically and the consequence of our lack of vision will be a tragedy dwarfing anything that has happened in human history.

But if we are radical in the best sense of the word, if we master this revolutionary technology rather than being mastered by it, then our hopes can be unbounded.

The gigantic issues of our times are not going to be solved in a day, a year, or a decade. There are no simple blueprints for a transformation as basic as the one which is taking place now. And yet, if we are to make the first tentative and painful advance, if we are to move at all, we must have a vision.

The unique contribution of democratic socialism in these times is not

some final and finished program which contains all the answers. Rather, it is a vision which clearly states an ultimate goal and at the same time clarifies and informs immediate proposals.

Given the social character of our new world and the nations composing it, we cannot seek peace, freedom, or plenty by turning back to an imagined golden age of individual entrepreneurs. Neither can we have confidence in corporations or commissars. The most basic stuff of our socialist vision is this: that democracy is not

simply a political form, that the extension of democracy to the economy and the society and to the world itself is the only way in which the new technology can be made the servant of man.

In what follows, we will be primarily concerned with the immediate political approximations of this vision. Yet in every word we write there is a sense of the radical character of the times in which we live, of a basic option for peace and freedom through democracy.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

At home, America confronts basic crises. Under Eisenhower they were ignored; under Kennedy some of them have been recognized, but piecemeal. What is required transcends this or that reform. What we need is a new point of departure: democratic social planning.

There is the crisis of automation. Jobs are being destroyed, whole categories of men and women are being rendered obsolete. We have responded to this with passivity and helplessness. We have watched a steady growth of the long-term unemployed, we have seen the reappearance of depression sectors in the society. Ironically, we are now working toward the goal of a 4 per cent rate of unemployment, as if that represented some kind of a utopia.

And the crisis of automation has only begun. Retooling has so far taken place among the obvious jobs, striking at the semi-skilled industrial worker. But in the years to come technology will revolutionize clerical occupations and even the middle levels of management. If it is left uncontrolled and unplanned, "progress" will come as a curse to millions, the great gains of industrial unionism will be eroded,

and American society, at the moment of abundance, will become more lopsided and unjust. And as is the case in almost every domestic crisis, the racial minorities will bear the great burden of this tragedy.

There is the crisis of the cities. Less than 10 per cent of the American people now live on farms. The millions are herded into megapolis, the vast urban areas that sprawl for hundreds of miles. By far and large this development is "planned" through real estate speculation without regard for social and individual human values.

As a result, practically every city in the land faces a crisis of traffic congestion, of slums packed more densely than ever before, and of growing cost. For the municipal chaos is expensive in terms of health, police, fire, and welfare protection; and as the middle class flees the central city areas, financial resources for facing the problems decline.

In all of this, Federal intervention tends to be haphazard and uncoordinated. Thus has been produced one of the great scandals of our time: "Socialism for the rich, free enterprise for the poor." In the name of the common good we have subsidized those

who have funds to look after themselves; we have shunted the defenseless into ghettos based on social class and poverty.

Crisis of Social Values

There is a basic crisis of social values in America. Our tremendous resources are allocated not on the basis of human need as democratically determined, but in the quest for profit. On the one hand this produces a society of economic and social distortion which prefers to satisfy the luxuries and pseudo-needs of the rich rather than to deal with the desperate needs of working men and women: millions for pink telephones and auto style-changes, pitifully little for housing. On the other hand it has created huge industries whose purpose is to manipulate people, to convince us through radio and television and the press that we enjoy being exploited for the profit of the few.

There is the most urgent single moral crisis of our land, civil rights. This is not simply a question of striking down the statutes of discrimination. Negroes and other minorities are the victims of economic and social Jim Crow as well as of racist laws. We have institutionalized their victimization by putting them at the bottom of society. To talk of real equality is also to speak of destroying the racial ghettos (which can only be done by public housing), of a new attitude on automation, of a different view of the society as a whole.

Automation is destroying jobs and reshaping the economy; the cities are becoming centers of chaos; our resources continue to be allocated on the basis of profit rather than need; minorities are victimized by the economy and by society as well as by racist laws. These are only some of the most obvious of America's domestic crises. There are many others—in education,

in civil liberties, in health costs, in the growth of bureaucracy in every area of our life—and these will be treated later in this platform. But there is one proposition basic to all our specific suggestions. That is our affirmation of the desperate need for democratic social planning.

Piecemeal reform loses much of its force by the very fact of its isolated character. Place a magnificent school in the midst of a slum—and leave untouched the educational impact of bad housing, low income, cultural deprivation and the like—and little will be accomplished. The crises facing America are so interrelated, so sweeping and comprehensive, that the only hope of progress lies in the creation of coherent, integrated programs.

Social Planning

We therefore propose that the United States of America adopt a policy of democratic social planning.

Specifically, we advocate the creation of comprehensive planning authorities in the critical areas of our life. In some cases this can be done within the framework of an existing agency—the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, for instance. In others, it will require new institutions like the proposed Department of Urban Affairs. But whatever the locus of this planning, the important point is that it must be comprehensive and integrated.

We are not, however, simply for "planning." That can be done in the name of totalitarian dictatorship, or as a means of providing corporations with bigger profits. We are for planning with democratic social goals.

The adoption of a policy of democratic social planning must be based on a series of basic commitments:

- planning for utilization of the resources of society to maintain full employment, and to allocate pro-

duction for the satisfaction of human need;

- planning with maximum opportunity for voluntary and local organizations to participate in decision making;
- planning subject at all times to democratic control, i.e. subject to changes in the policies and personnel of planning authorities as determined by the people;
- planning with a special charge to eradicate poverty in the United States and particularly the poverty of racial and ethnic minorities.

The critics of democratic social planning see it as embodying the threat of a monstrous, bureaucratic state. We find this view naive. Bureaucracy is growing today in government, in the corporations, in the military, precisely because of lack of planning, because bureaucrats are not subject to popular control.

We see planning as a protection for individuals, as a way of decentralizing power. When the basic decisions of production and resource allocation become a matter of democratic political determination, that is not giving away power to some distant state. It is asserting the power of the people, of working men and women, over the huge, impersonal bureaucracies which now plan their lives.

We believe in the kind of planning that requires the complete democratization of the economy itself. So long as minority elites with enormous corporate power can "plan" for private profit and against the public interest, the democratic planning mechanism is extremely limited. In the long run, the great concentrations of economic power must be made public. However, we recognize that there is not sufficient sentiment for such a radical departure today. We therefore make our proposal for democratic social planning within the framework of those

liberal and reform values espoused by the unions, the civil rights movement, the liberal movement, progressive farmers and important segments of religious opinion.

Finally we call attention to a number of glaring inequities, the remedying of which is a first urgency under democratic planning, and which certainly should be included among the unplanned piecemeal reforms now being urged. We join with trade unionists and liberals in demanding immediate action—

- For a higher minimum wage, from which farm labor must not be excluded;
- For an integrated national campaign against poverty, with massive Federal aid to housing, community services, and education;
- For a program of public investment as an anti-recession measure;
- For an Area Redevelopment Bill to provide aid for distressed sections of the nation—a Point Four for our own underdeveloped regions;
- For a national resources policy which will extend the program which proved itself in the Tennessee Valley Authority to other areas of the country, such as the Columbia River Valley and the Missouri River Valley.
- For socialization of the oil industry on terms that give due regard to the needs and interests of a world peculiarly dependent upon oil. Today this industry is a power unto itself influencing domestic and foreign policy. Socialization of the oil industry must include social ownership of the oil fields.
- For socialization of basic means of transportation. We deplore and oppose the tendency to subsidize railroad passenger traffic while allowing private operators to reap the profits from freight traffic.

In making these demands, we note that the one piece of important social legislation passed since World War II, the Employment Act of 1946, is hardly more than a general statement of good intentions. In the post-war recessions, that Act failed to commit the Executive to any specific action, and the battle for meaningful remedies

had to be fought anew each time in Congress. Therefore, we stand for a new law which will automatically require Executive action whenever unemployment rises: Federal spending for worthwhile social purposes, progressive tax relief for the broad mass of consumers, a government banking and finance policy to stimulate maximum investment, and so on.

PUBLIC FINANCE

Sources of Funds

Many Americans are appalled when they read proposals for vast new social programs. These, they argue, can only be paid for through an increase in income and excise taxes which will strike at the ordinary citizen.

We Socialists believe that this assumption is a sign of the low level of social and political creativity of our nation. A society with the technology and resources of the United States has ample production to finance a program of internal and international social development. The problem is to tap the real sources of wealth, not simply to tax the working men and women of America.

In two cases, we can specifically name enormous reservoirs of funds:

1. Success in a program of disarmament and disengagement would release billions for domestic and international social construction;

2. The planned allocation of resources, through the elimination of waste, would utilize existing capacity, both industrial and agricultural, to the full (it has been estimated that the last recession alone cost thirty-five billion dollars in terms of existing industrial capacity which was not put to use).

Yet, it can be argued that these two

sources of funds wait upon considerable political changes, that they do not address themselves to urgent problems of finance for immediate programs. Even here, however, there are resources aplenty if only we had the vision to use them:

- Overhauling of the income tax laws with the view to making the income tax truly progressive, and the stopping-up of loop-holes designed to aid the rich;
- Progressive taxation of land increment resulting from social development rather than private improvement;
- Overhauling of land tax laws on the state level;
- Progressive taxation of undistributed corporate income;
- Strict accounting and reduction of corporate expense accounts, and on services given to executives as part of company policy;
- Ending favoritism to the oil industry, through legislation implementing the Supreme Court decision that off-shore oil is the property of the Federal government, and through termination of the special oil depletion allowance.

SOCIAL OWNERSHIP

These proposals, we must emphasize, are minimal and stop-gap. The real problem is to make the enormous technology of the United States responsive to the needs of the whole people. Not only would the financing of social progress be greatly simplified by social ownership of major areas of the economy, but such socialization, when combined with economic decentralization, democratic control, and social planning for the needs of the people rather than the profits of a few, would go far toward giving our political democracy a sounder economic basis.

How much sounder for us to socialize steel, for example, than to use artificial and essentially undemocratic administrative pressure in a futile attempt to impose a sense of public responsibility on the major steel companies.

However essential such socialization of the major means of production is, there is an even more obvious and

immediate need to bring under public ownership and democratic control the natural resources of our nation, such as gas and oil, and those natural monopolies such as railways and public utilities, and finally, the central banking system. We particularly express our vigorous opposition to the Kennedy plan for turning the communications satellite system over to private ownership, after it had been completely developed at public expense. We favor public ownership of the entire public communications system, including telephone and telegraph.

Socialists stress that social ownership of the major means of production is not a panacea for all our problems. There are great potential dangers in centralizing economic power. For this reason socialists lay particular stress on the decentralization of economic power where possible, and at all points a high degree of democratic control and social planning beginning at the community and place-of-work level.

LABOR

The American labor movement faces a most critical period in the years ahead.

The jobs destroyed by automation tend to be in areas organized by the labor movement: these are the semi-skilled blue collar occupations which form the mass base of industrial unionism. As a result, the membership of the unions has stabilized or even declined, and the percentage of the work force which is organized has been waning for some time.

The unemployment caused by automation has a specific and new character: it is permanent. The labor movement is not confronted with a cyclical turn down, it cannot expect these dis-

placed workers to return to the ranks of the unions under better circumstances. Their occupations have been abolished, and if the worker is forty years old or more, he has effectively been declared obsolete in our industrial society.

Given this enormous challenge, the traditional machinery of collective bargaining offers no hope for a real solution. The union's bargaining strength often declines along with the destruction of jobs and the loss of membership; the dislocations are of such a magnitude that, even if the economic power of the union were still as great as ever, remedies cannot be found on a company or industry level.

Labor Political Offensive

We believe that only a dynamic political offensive on the part of American labor can offer hope to the long term unemployed and to workers presently threatened by automation. The problems faced by the unions are national in scope and require democratic social planning if they are to be solved. In this context, labor can no longer regard political action as merely a means of maneuvering for this or that immediate advantage. It must come forth as the proponent of new departures, it must recapture the elan and vitality of the thirties in the process of creating a vast new popular movement for social change. This proposal, we believe, is not a "radical" one; it is imperative if the labor movement is to face the immediate, day to day challenge of automation.

In addition to a renewed commitment to political action, the labor movement must reject the proposals of labor-management "cooperation" now being put forth by the Administration. These ideas do not offer any real solution to the problems of the day, and in many cases, they are advanced at the expense of the poorest workers and the unemployed.

The proposal that labor and management must keep their negotiations within the limits of productivity gains has the effect of freezing the shares of the two contenders and thus canceling out the possibility of qualitative advance on the part of the workers. It also widens the gap between the employed, who get some share in the fruits of automation, and the unemployed who are essentially disregarded by this formula. In effect, the Administration has come up with a policy of compulsory arbitration (the compulsion is not legislative but informal, yet it is real) operating within narrow limits and solely oriented toward economic stability without any real consideration for social justice.

In this regard, we support the labor movement in its rejection of Administration policy and its advocacy of a thirty-five hour week. This approach cannot provide a basic solution to the problem of automation and unemployment, but it is an important immediate amelioration.

We also believe that the recent successes in the field of teacher unionism are extremely important. Given the changing character of the work force, these events have demonstrated the relevance of unionism to professional and white collar occupations. We believe that the labor movement must give much more support to these efforts than in the past.

The renewed use of court injunctions against strikes is more evidence of the need for political action, in this case against laws that throttle organizing efforts. Especially essential is repeal of laws forbidding strikes by underpaid teachers and hospital workers.

The problem of internal democracy within the labor movement continues to be a crucial one. The denial of opposition rights within some unions tends to deprive the labor movement of a major source of creativity and change.

We believe that the United Automobile Workers have indicated an important technique of promoting and defending union democracy: the Public Review Board. We feel that the entire labor movement should adopt this principle as part of a serious, continuing commitment to democracy and civil liberties in trade unions.

We support the right of staff members in the labor movement to organize unions of their own choosing.

We reject reactionary legislation, like the Landrum-Griffin Act, which utilizes the existence of admitted abuses within the unions in order to put over laws aimed against the labor movement as a whole. At the same

time, we believe that there is a function for progressive legislation oriented at providing protection for the democratic rights of workers. Specifically, we believe that a "reserved powers" approach might well be a fruitful one: the law would describe a basic bill of internal union rights; unions which voluntarily met these standards through the adoption of institutions like the Public Review Board would be exempted from any intervention; the procedures would only be applied

AGRICULTURE

Some figures speak eloquently of the achievements and failures of American agriculture. In 1910 a farm worker produced enough food and fiber for 7 persons. By 1960 despite substantial increases in per capita consumption he produced enough to meet the needs of 24 persons. Between 1950 and 1960 farm output per man-hour rose 85 per cent. Such were the achievements of the effective use of machinery and scientific agriculture.

This great success has brought problems in its train. There is the problem, not truly of overproduction, but rather of poor distribution of goods and income in a hungry world. There is the problem of individual farmers who in large numbers have not been able to afford modern machinery. They have been felled by corporate farms.

Between 1950 and 1959 the number of farms in the United States dropped from 5.4 million to 3.7 million. According to a government report only about 25 per cent of the remaining family farms have the resources and productive capacity to return to their operators annual profits of \$2,500. While family-owned and operated farms still constitute a numerical majority, 5 per cent of the nation's farms account for about 60 per cent of all vegetables produced for sale, nearly 50

to those unions which refused to provide democratic guarantees on their own.

Finally, we continue to regard the labor movement as the greatest single potential source for social justice in American society. In the struggle between the unions and management, we are proudly partisan, taking the side of unionism. Whatever criticisms we make we are motivated by a desire to forward the labor movement, to help it live up to its own high promise.

per cent of the land in orchards and vineyards, and nearly 40 per cent of the total cotton crop. And this same 5 per cent pays over 70 per cent of the total farm wage bill.

Many of the great farms are owned like corporations by absentee owners. Many of them are "vertically integrated"; that is, a single company controls the entire chain between farmer and consumer. It is to these great farmers that the bulk of taxpayers' subsidies go under a system that made possible the exploits of Billie Sol Estes.

Various government agencies, for example the Rural Areas Development Board, the Areas Redevelopment Administration, the Farmers Home Administration, the Rural Electrification Administration, have programs to raise rural standards of living and help small farmers. They are admittedly directed to helping "the more fortunate of the disadvantaged." Most of them depend on local initiative, which in effect means the approval of the local power structure of a given rural area; that is, of the more prosperous farmers, in the South always white. As of June 1962, less than 100 underemployed farm workers have received training under ARA for available jobs operating and maintaining farm ma-

chinery. Extension of the program has been blocked by local power elites.

The problem of the small farmers driven off their land despite the billions paid to subsidize agriculture by no means stands alone. There is the special problem of the low economic conditions of sharecroppers, and what has become in recent years the larger problem of hired farm labor, much of it deprived of minimum wage protection, and in varying degrees of some other protections afforded other workers.

In the face of the complicated problems of agriculture we renew our socialist insistence that the basis of land ownership should be occupancy and use; that cooperative farming should be encouraged as against corporation farming; that family-type farms where conditions are favorable should be more effectively aided under existing agencies with a great increase of activities under the Farmers Home Administration. We call for the full enforcement of the 160 acre limitation of the Reclamation Act restricting water from federally financed reclamation projects to family-size farms.

We oppose programs which seek to foster scarcity in a hungry world as a means of higher incomes to farmers.

Within the U.S. we seek enlargement of school lunch programs and other public welfare food programs in rural areas as well as cities.

Internationally our food "surpluses" should be used to fight hunger. As far as possible such a program should be administered through the U.N. to assure that food will be a weapon in a war against human misery, not in the cold war.

Farm Labor

We demand for hired labor on farms minimum wage legislation and other protective laws at least equivalent to those in force for industrial workers. Minimum wage legislation would help,

not hurt, family farmers most of whom in contrast to the "factories in the fields" employ little or no such labor. In the Mississippi delta on small-scale farms the cost of hired labor is about 10 per cent of total operating costs against 30 per cent on the large plantations. We urge prompt passage of the ten bills introduced in the U.S. Senate to give at least a modest protection to farm laborers. More is necessary.

We call for an end to the program under which hundreds of thousands of foreign contract farm workers are imported annually. There is no need for these workers and their employment serves to depress wages and conditions and to deprive domestic workers of needed employment. Foreign workers have at times been used illegally to break a number of strikes in fields and packing sheds. These imported workers are not free agents and are themselves badly exploited. Most of them come from Mexico under Public Law 78. This law expires at the end of 1963 and should under no circumstances be renewed.

Congress should enact a program to facilitate recruitment of domestic migratory workers under guarantees of minimum wages, etc., better than those provided for Mexican workers, which at present give to these imported workers somewhat better guarantees than many domestic workers have found. Contrary to the claims of the 2 per cent of the nation's farmers who import farm workers, Public Law 78 has produced only incidental benefits for Mexican farm workers and the Mexican economy. The government is obliged to do what it can under the Alliance for Progress and various U.N. programs to help to improve the general condition of the Mexican workers.

We heartily commend the organizing campaign of the AFL-CIO among farm workers but urge that it be extended and given even greater priority.

Medical Care

Medical needs are so essential, and their costs are so capricious and unpredictable, that we should long since have provided for them socialistically in the same matter-of-fact way that we socialistically protect ourselves against crime and fire. And in this opinion above all others, we Socialists are confident we speak for the great bulk of the American people, who throughout this century have consistently favored every medical reform that was offered. The absence of socialized medicine in this country is disgraceful evidence of the power of a moneyed minority to thwart democratic processes.

The permanent crisis in medical costs reflects basic changes in technology and the economy, and cannot be confronted in any basic sense by piecemeal legislation. Current reform proposals are too little and too late, and sometimes wrongheaded. Especially alarming is the effort to use tax funds to swell the coffers of private insurance companies.

Present proposals for Social Security health benefits are good as far as they go, but do not go far enough even within the framework of their own limitations. At very least they should include medical, surgical, dental, and psychiatric fees. Funeral expenses should be assisted. And we are distressed that hospitalization payments should be limited as to time: Those who need more than 90 days of hospital care are few and represent very little money in national terms, but the private tragedy is immense. For humanitarian reasons we support the current proposals as the best of a bad lot, and we welcome the precedent of paying for health costs through Social Security mechanisms; but we insist that at best it is only an inadequate stopgap.

What we need—what even less prosperous nations have long enjoyed—is insurance through tax funds for the best possible medical care for every man, woman, and child. We call upon Americans everywhere to work with us for this goal.

We urge a system of socialized medicine under which the citizen is free to choose the doctor and the type of care he desires. We would encourage, through tax incentives and other measures, cooperative and other plans under which physicians are hired on a salary basis to provide complete medical care; a total divorcement of payments from medical procedures is essential if we are to achieve in fact the ideal of preventive care which science has now made possible. Yet fee-for-service piecemeal medicine should be allowed to continue where the people in a given community want it. For administration of socialized medicine should be local, with the public participating democratically, and the Federal government should confine itself to providing funds and regulating standards.

We favor drastic government action in support of the costs of medical education. The ranks of the medical profession must no longer be restricted to those who are born into well-to-do families. We favor subsidy of the costs of training nurses and medical technologists. We favor a decent wage scale for hospital workers, and defend their right to form unions and to strike: It is scandalous that hospitals should subsidize themselves by sweating their employees. We support, and favor extension of, present government hospital-building programs; every community should possess a medical center with emergency-ward and nursing-home facilities.

Prescribed drugs must be available to all citizens without cost to them.

An independent government corporation should enter and become a major competitive entity in the pharmaceutical industry. At the same time, drug companies should continue to receive financial incentives for genuine pharmaceutical research. The government should engage much more heavily in pharmaceutical research. It must be far more stringent in its licensing of drugs.

Education

A democratic society requires an educational system which gives to each child opportunity for maximum development of all his potentialities. If we want a free and democratic society, our education must be free and democratic in principle, in classroom practice, and in school administration.

Remarkable technical progress has been achieved by scientists, technicians, production managers and workers. They are the products of our present-day schools. Our schools have not done badly in promoting and increasing the intellectual and technical knowledge of the human race. What has broken down is the capacity of knowing what to do with this knowledge.

What we need is education which will inspire youth with values of inter-human relations, with social interests, with respect for the worth and the dignity of each and every human being, with confidence in man's ability to solve his problems cooperatively with his fellowman.

We reject the demand, made popular by Russia's launching of the Sputniks, for gearing our educational system to the needs of a war machine, or for imitating the narrow objectives of education in the Soviet Union and other totalitarian states. We believe in education for the whole man, education geared to the aptitude of each student and designed to produce well-informed citizens capable of thinking for themselves and participating re-

sponsibly in the rights and duties of citizenship.

We reject the idea that equal educational opportunities, the promoting of creativity, cooperation, mutual aid, and welfare are the "grave diggers of education"; we believe rather that equal and not separated opportunities for every child are not only essential for democratic education, but also promote best the selection and education of the gifted on the broadest possible foundation. We oppose all attempts to break up our universal democratic education, whether by so-called equal but separate schools, or by underhand pedagogical assumptions that different environmental and class mentalities require the splitting of schools into those for middle- and upper-class children and those for low-income or slum children.

We favor Federal aid for school construction, for higher teacher salaries, and for guidance services in public education. We favor a Federal college scholarship plan on the basis of ability only. We oppose giving Federal aid to communities which refuse to integrate their school system as required by the May, 1954 decision of the Supreme Court. We favor the extension of unionism among teachers. We oppose loyalty oaths in schools and colleges, for either teachers or students, because their only effect is to create a climate of suspicion incongruous to education in a free society. We also strongly condemn R.O.T.C. as military conditioning wholly inappropriate to education in a democracy. We urge expansion of experimental remedial and guidance programs supported by local, state, and federal funds, and governmental support of more adequate training for teachers.

Welfare

Our society is the first in history possessing the power to obliterate poverty in its entirety. Yet one-third of us are

poor, one-fifth of us dwell in uttermost poverty, and the rest of us are too busy boasting of affluence to see them. Thus ours is also the first society in history to forget that the poor exist.

We ignore the needs of growing millions of urban and rural workers made obsolete by automation, rejected by the very processes that enrich the rest of us. We adopt pitiful halfway measures for the millions of old people made wretched by loneliness, dependency, and constant fear of medical catastrophe. The terrible poverty of minority groups we accept as part of the American tradition. We first create the poor, then we keep them poor, and then we blame them for their poverty.

What is required of us is a concerted attack on poverty in all its forms, and adoption of two principles: A decent minimum standard for all, and maximum protection against economic mischance. What the poor too often get, when they are not ignored, are heartless pinch-penny policies, and welfare approaches which demean them, until we have produced a whole class of Americans who have come to expect to be pushed around.

In the area of public assistance our most pressing need is to abolish forthwith, in those states where they still survive, those barbaric laws or administrative regulations which—

Allow relief files to be inspected by the general public;

Require the publication of names of relief recipients;

Deny assistance on grounds of "employability" where no effort is made to find jobs for the unemployed as part of the assistance process;

Deny assistance to unwed mothers or illegitimate children;

Impose requirements as to length of residence;

Require the sale by relief applicants of the tools of their trade;

Deny assistance because applicants

possess property which cannot be quickly converted into cash;

Require contributions from relatives other than parents of minor children;

Use current rent as a "means test" for eligibility in localities where there is a shortage of low-cost housing.

In those public-assistance programs in which the Federal government participates (old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind and disabled) we demand amendment of the Social Security Act to withhold funds from states permitting the above practices.

We call for amendment of the Social Security Act to provide for Federal participation in programs of general (noncategorical) assistance.

These are minimal demands made in the name of common decency. But if we are to conduct a war against the poverty in our midst, our welfare laws must go much further as part of a broad-scale multi-front program.

Unemployment

Unemployment compensation must be made available to all citizens who cannot find work, for as long as they remain jobless. Payments must be high enough to support a minimum decent standard of living, and all payments must be pegged to the cost-of-living index. It is the duty of society, through its agencies of government, to provide socially useful work for all who are willing and able to work. This problem should be approached from the standpoint of the needs and aspirations of *each individual* unemployed person.

Social Security

Social Security (O.A.S.I.) should not be, as it is today, merely a palliative measure designed to supplement the savings and pensions (often nonexistent)

ent) of retired citizens. It must become a true national pension plan, supplying the full economic security necessary for a dignified and fruitful old age, and available to all regardless of prior contributions in taxes. Allowances must not be reducible on account of additional earned income. Maternal and child services must be greatly expanded. Orphan beneficiaries, for whom payments now lapse when they reach age 18, must have access to a special fund for educational scholarships or for training for a trade, and benefits must continue on behalf of those engaged in such training until age 21. Social Security taxation must apply to every dollar of income and must be graduated to rest more heavily upon higher incomes. All payments must be pegged to the cost-of-living index.

Other Problems

- Tobacco advertising and labelling must be brought under stringent government controls, must specify tar and nicotine content, and must include notice of medical hazard.

- Narcotics addiction and alcoholism must be treated as sicknesses, not crime. Federal government must initiate special health programs for narcotics addicts, tied to job training and placement services. More basically, we urge adoption of the system used in some other countries of permitting addicts to register as such and buy their drugs at regulated prices in government addiction control centers; our present laws succeed only in nurturing the criminal underworld, forcing secretiveness upon addicts, and ultimately in spreading addiction.

- Our society teaches concepts of economic selfishness and ruthless competition which promote many expres-

sions of crime. It creates an underworld of poverty, from within which, criminality appears to offer the only real hope of escape. Society shall not be permitted to hide from itself its own responsibility for much of the crime in our midst. The legitimate protection of society against its deviates and criminals is one thing; quite something else is the attitude of smug righteousness behind which so many Americans neglect man's eternal responsibility for other men in trouble.

Crime prevention begins in eradicating the societal and environmental causes of criminal behavior. We must eliminate all the various patterns of preferential treatment for wealthy offenders as against poor ones, as regards bail, legal council, fines, etc. We urge the institution of a full-scale program for rehabilitation of criminals. We are opposed to the punitive rather than the rehabilitative approach to criminal jurisprudence, and consequently we regard capital punishment as a grim and uncivilized vestige of the past. We pledge ourselves to work for its eradication.

- Legal council must be free for all who need it. Bail and fines must be adjusted to the financial resources of the offender. Our laws in practice work prejudicially against the poor, the underprivileged, members of minority groups, the uneducated, the ill-favored. A deliberate effort to counter this prejudice is an important goal of Socialism.

- It cannot be expected that our competitive and segregated society will effectively prevent juvenile delinquency. However, we urge the immediate provision of ample Federal financial aid for carefully prepared projects for preventing and treating juvenile delinquency.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

As Socialists, we stand for democracy in every aspect of life; the democratization of the economy and the society as well as of politics. Therefore the defense of civil liberties is basic to our philosophy.

In addition, we are confident that Communism, like other anti-democratic ideas and movements, can be met and defeated in free ideological and political struggle. "Anti-Communist" legislation and marathon legislative investigations of "subversive propaganda" strike at basic rights of free

speech, press and political association. They deprive us of our democratic creativity, and thus weaken us in the struggle against totalitarianism.

Given these principles, we urge: repeal of the Smith Act and pardon for all of its victims; repeal of the McCarran "Communist control" act; abolition of the Attorney General's "subversive" list; repeal of loyalty oaths for students and faculty members; abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Committee.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Civil rights remains the foremost domestic issue of our time. If anything fresh and promising has appeared on the American scene since the mid-fifties, it has been the pressing upsurge of American Negroes demanding rights that are constitutionally theirs. We support wholeheartedly this movement and reject categorically the notion that these rights can be in any way compromised in the name of progress on other fronts.

In the past two years the dramatic sit-in movement has not diminished but has entered a new phase. It has expanded from lunch counters to theaters, to libraries, to companies that discriminate, and finally to voter registration. Spearheaded by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), direct action has continued while political action has begun. It is not now just statutory Jim Crow that is being challenged. The whole rotten structure of white supremacy with its one-party system is being shattered. Today in the South there are boycotts going on (against job discrimination, as well as segre-

gated travel) that are more broadly based than the original Montgomery protest: in Albany and Macon, Georgia; Jackson, Mississippi; and Birmingham, Alabama.

In all of this, the Administration has played a double role. On the one hand it can rightly point to accomplishments (some Department of Justice suits; federal protection for the freedom riders in Montgomery; the President's Commission on Employment) which go beyond anything of the Eisenhower years. But on the other hand, the Administration has failed, and failed miserably, in really responding to the profound challenge of civil rights.

The Department of Justice suits on voter registration have been limited in number, concentrated in areas where there is a white majority (and avoiding the crucial battles in the black majority areas where SNCC has been working primarily), and on an individual case-by-case basis. In almost two years the President has refused the "stroke of the pen," which he spoke of during the campaign: federal funds still go for the support of housing, as well as school, segregation. It is typical

of the administration to be suing for voting booth integration in Georgia, while appointing racist judges in Louisiana and Mississippi.

In Congress, the administration has refused to redeem the pledges of the 1960 Democratic Party platform. While young people have given a magnificent demonstration of courage and creativity, the White House and Capitol Hill have been engaged in business as usual.

Non-violent Action

We are proud that Socialists have supported the work of the Congress of Racial Equality, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Out of the action-oriented climate generated by the spontaneous sit-ins have sprung the Freedom Rides, initiated by CORE and joined by SNCC and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. We congratulate CORE and the other groups who organized the freedom rides, and we salute the heroic freedom riders themselves. While we give all-out support to the freedom rides (whether along Route 40 or to McComb, Mississippi) we simultaneously recognize that in the last analysis their success will be determined by the extent to which they stimulate activity on the part of the masses of Negroes who live in the South. Along with SNCC and CORE our aim must be to always broaden the base of the movement and to stimulate mass action. The vast potential of the movement will not be fulfilled until the great mass of unorganized working-class Negroes are actively mobilized.

The emergence of the Negro American Labor Council is another extremely important and positive development. Negroes in the United States are the victims of a double discrimination: through Jim Crow statutes and

through a racist economy which has imprisoned the minorities in the dirtiest, most unstable and low-paying jobs. The NALC reflects both of these determinants of Negro life. It is dedicated to trade unionism, to a really integrated trade-union movement; and it demands that labor live up to its own ideals, that Jim Crow within the unions be struck down and a campaign waged to open up skilled jobs to Negroes and other minority groups. We concur heartily in this program.

Black Nationalism

There is a rising tide of black nationalism in the Negro community today. The nationalists are not only recruiting and organizing at a faster rate than other organizations, they are reaching people unreached by traditional protest organizations—workers, the unemployed and young people. We reject the idea of a black nation and racism of any variety. We oppose the separation of the races as incompatible with the socialist ideal. Yet, we recognize that nationalism grows where liberalism is strongest, where the promise has been made and broken, where the laws are integrationist and education, housing and employment are segregated. Responsibility for the growth of the nationalist and Muslim groups also rests in part with the integrationist organizations. Their inability to make contact with and mobilize the mass of unorganized and frustrated working-class Negroes who are crowded into the slums of our cities has created the vacuum which the Muslims are trying to fill. The solution is not persecution of the Muslims but an all-out assault on segregation and employment discrimination, a movement based on bread and butter issues in the North as well as the South. At present only the NALC appears to be cognizant of the need for developing a mass-action program aimed at these problems. The cry of the

nationalists for violence has only reaffirmed our belief in tactical non-violence. The result of their attitude has been a withdrawal from the real fight, which is the fight of all decent Americans for complete integration and democracy.

The fact that the Southern students have turned to politics in their voter registration drive has given impetus to Negro candidacies in the South. We support these representatives of the civil rights movement in their challenge to the lily-white one-partyism below the Mason Dixon line. We believe that their success is of vital importance to American political life in general, for it opens up the possibility of smashing the Dixiecrat-Republican alliance, of shattering the bastion of reaction which has developed in the American South.

With all of this progress, the great fact remains that American politics have not been equal to this greatest moral imperative of our national life. Both parties have reneged on their campaign promises of 1960. We pledge ourselves to put human rights first and to work for the immediate passage of legislation which would:

- guarantee the right to vote with the power of action vested, once a pattern of discrimination is found, in the Executive;
- commit the Federal Government to initiate legal action on behalf of school integration, voting rights or any other civil right;
- deny Federal funds to any segregated institution or program;
- implement Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment, depriving states of representation in proportion to the number of citizens they deprive of the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous servitude.

In addition to these immediate civil rights proposals, we realize that the

goal of human equality cannot be attained in an ill-housed, ghetto-ized society with inferior education for the minorities. We therefore urge that Federal programs for low-cost housing and aid to education contain provisions specifically directed toward making these social solutions a means of integration. We support those Negroes in the North who are challenging the mockery and hypocrisy of de facto segregation in the midst of rhetorical avowals of civil rights.

Finally, we Socialists pledge, not only our political thinking and action, but our personal participation in this magnificent movement for freedom.

Other Minorities

Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other minority groups are also the victims of discrimination. We support the democratic movement of all these minorities as part of the united struggle for the principle of equality for all.

We are opposed to the current effort to deprive American Indians of their remaining community lands and resources. Premature and enforced assimilation of Indians into the dominant culture is no answer to their special problems. No major programs affecting Indians should be launched without the free consent of the tribes or bands involved. As a first step to alleviate sufferings and amend ancient wrongs, we endorse the proposal of the National Congress of American Indians, for a "Point Four" program for Indians.

Ballot Access

We advocate a Constitutional amendment guaranteeing the right of ready ballot access in all states to minority political parties.

Conscription

Hostility to peacetime conscription in the Old World was one of the great forces motivating immigration to this

country, and Americans have traditionally regarded it as alien and a threat to freedom. Under the conditions of modern military technology it cannot even be justified on grounds of

need. It serves only to maintain the power of military bureaucracy and to subject a portion of the populace each year to military conditioning. We demand its immediate abolition.

URBAN PROBLEMS

Migration from the farms to the cities is accelerating as technological change continues to make small farms more and more unprofitable. To this has been joined further migrations caused by industrial change and regional unemployment. Concurrently, middle-income people are continuing to flee from the cities. Thus increasingly America's poor are being concentrated in urban centers.

This has aggravated problems which already were not being met, or were being met improperly. Our cities are largely unpleasant places to live, and here as elsewhere the fault lies in the lack of adequate social planning.

Thus, pressure from business and real estate interests has led to an emphasis on facilities for motor transport. Highway construction has been given priority over community needs while there has been little if any concern with the problems of mass transportation. Existing mass low-cost transportation facilities have been allowed to deteriorate. It is, as always, the poor who are victimized by this process.

Thus, the national policies of public housing and urban renewal and redevelopment have lost their original purpose of eliminating slums and providing housing for low-income families. Government programs are now used by real estate promoters, mortgage and banking interests, builders and contractors for their own private profit. These interests have virtually stopped low-income public housing in all but the largest Northern cities; in the South these public programs are used to further segregation of Negroes. The

primary purpose of urban renewal and development now is to have the public purse buy and assemble lands to sell cheap to redevelopment corporations for costly apartment houses or for commercial developments which will "enrich the city's tax base." Those displaced by this process are, as always, the poor, whose societal relations are disrupted, who are forced from one slum to another.

Thus, there has been a massive failure in enforcing health, housing, building, and fire codes, because old-party politicians do not want to interfere with the enormous profits of slum landlords, because they will not raise enough taxes to pay for health and sanitation, because inspectors are selected for political loyalties rather than for competence. It is the poor, the underpaid, the underprivileged whose very lives, and the futures of whose children, are endangered.

Thus cities continue to rely upon sales taxes and other backward-looking methods of raising funds, whose common denominator is that they hit the poorest hardest.

The accepted theory in America today is that cities exist solely as a place for someone to make money or earn his keep. All other interests are considered secondary.

We Socialists regard cities as a place where human life can have a new and better meaning in a world at peace. They are the arena in which humanity can finally meet and destroy the ancient enemies of disease, want, ignorance, squalor, and ugliness.

We propose a program of rebuilding

the cities of America to meet the human needs of the people who live in them.

A Program for the City

As steps to meet the problems of urban growth and change we advocate:

1. A new national policy of population distribution in which fewer people will be concentrated in the great metropolitan areas, and in which there will be a larger number of cities ranging in size from 25,000 to 100,000 in population. We propose the restoration of populations to areas which have lost population by giving incentives to industry to relocate in depressed areas, and by relocating governmental and other agencies in places outside of the great metropolitan areas. We propose to use the Area Redevelopment Agency to foster this objective.

2. Re-establishment of the National Resources Planning Board to properly coordinate the use of resources and their distribution from area to area.

3. Creation by the Federal government of regional planning agencies in cooperation with state and local governments, to supervise over-all planning for all Federal expenditures in public improvements. These agencies shall help each region to help itself and shall especially concern themselves with the problems of water resources, water and air pollution, land use and land pollution, orderly urban development, and convenient public transportation.

4. A Department of Urban Affairs with cabinet rank in the Federal government.

5. A Department of Urban Affairs in each state government.

6. Federal sponsorship of satellite cities to reduce urban congestion and to provide a decent environment for the rearing of children and the enjoyment of life.

7. Creation of regional metropolitan governments in the major metropolitan areas to coordinate the fragmented, inefficient, and competing governments in such areas.

8. Encouraging state governments to take a more active role in solving urban problems in the interests of the people rather than the special interests.

9. Implementation of the Supreme Court order for states to provide for better apportionment of legislative seats.

10. Federal matching funds for planning, sewage control, waterworks, expansion and mass transportation.

11. Public ownership and non-profit operation of power and transportation utilities.

12. A Federal master plan for removing in the next ten years all sub-standard housing, urban or rural. Sufficient federal, state, and local government appropriations to make this plan feasible. Public participation in the formation of the master plan and local interpretation of it.

13. An adequate program of public housing, with better architecture and less density of land use, integrated as to neighborhoods; without segregation as to race or income level; with some of the housing located on new lands in order to reduce costs.

14. More concern for persons displaced by public works or renewal projects, as to the right of better housing, and as to protection from the brutal disruption of their lives in established neighborhoods. More concern for small businesses and enterprises forced to relocate by public works projects. Special procedures, required by law, to guard their interests.

15. Application of the principle that the rental value of land is a social creation and should be appropriated by taxation for social purposes. All housing projects should insure a con-

tinuous return to the local government of increases in values created by public investment.

16. Sanctions against the creation of income or racial ghettos. Grants-in-aid should be withheld where discrimination of any kind exists.

17. Approaches that will foster the idea of community, and encourage democratic participation of citizens in community decisions.

18. Encouragement of Rochdale cooperative housing under user sponsorship, eliminating the private entrepreneurs who are constructing coop-

erative multiple dwellings for the construction profits.

19. Aid for lower and middle income home-owners who are able to refurbish existing homes as part of the program of community renewal.

20. Special programs for the housing of the aged, the economically displaced and the socially backward.

21. Federal grants-in-aid to universities and colleges and scientific institutes to engage in continuous and fundamental research on the problems of urbanization and the meaning of urbanization.

LEISURE AND COMMUNICATIONS

The technological revolution of our times makes possible a society of increasing leisure. If our enormous resources were allocated democratically and on the basis of social planning, we could look forward to a rapid and progressive decrease in the number of working hours along with an increase in the standard of living.

And yet, this prospect comes as a threat to our society. In this area, as in almost every other, our social and political thinking lags far behind our technological genius. The leisure we produce seems to be empty, unhuman, sterile.

Leisure today is not a problem as any "natural" consequence of modern technology. Our leisure facilities, and above all our means of communication, are organized like everything else in this society, to enhance the profit of the few. Madison Avenue is not an evil conspiracy of mean men with bad taste. It is an inevitable institution in a society which prefers to manufacture and manipulate pseudo-need, which can be satisfied at a fat profit, to dealing with real and desperate needs.

Broadly then, we Socialists believe that leisure time must be taken away

from the control of the corporate minorities; that we must socially allocate resources for free time; that improving the quality of life is one of the main aims of our movement.

Specifically today we propose:

- the formation of a Federal television network, nationally owned and dedicated to high standards of entertainment and public discussion which will provide competition to the private stations, with participation by the talent unions in the establishment of program policy;
- the integration of entertainment and leisure in urban planning; provisions for retaining existing and new community centers and neighborhood gathering places; the planning of parks and recreational facilities with Federal assistance; a national research program into imaginative techniques of community recreation for children and adults such as those found in Denmark and Norway;
- a National Theatre and Ballet; a subsidy program directed to helping actors and theatres who provide entertainment of a high

aesthetic merit which is not now commercially profitable (the "Off-Broadway" theatre is an example of this kind of production);

- the preservation and social use of forests, beaches, etc., in a vastly expanded national conservation and park program.

FOREIGN POLICY

American foreign policy must be based upon two inescapable facts: (1) We live in a world so interdependent that men's struggle for freedom, justice, and the conquest of bitter poverty must be universal; and (2) In that struggle, thanks to our scientific progress in the art of destruction, nation states will use the time-honored method of war only at peril to the very life of our race.

Powers possessed of nuclear weapons will not fight without using them, and to use them means mutual destruction almost beyond the power of our imagination to contemplate. The days when one could face a realistic choice between peace and freedom or peace and justice, using the ancient institution of war as a cruel instrument, are gone. Men for brief periods may have peace, i.e., the absence of war, without freedom; they cannot in today's world have freedom without peace.

Thus, the necessities of the cold war push us in America further into the status of a garrison state at grave cost to a sane economy and to our civil liberties. It was none other than Dwight Eisenhower, General of the Army and Republican President who in his Farewell Message warned us solemnly against the military-industrial complex already so powerful. In a struggle against it we, the people, may win battles. We shall not win the final victory because the cold war, emotionally and practically, require a military-industrial complex to serve it. Only the end of great wars, hot and cold,

will make possible truly cooperative commonwealths or a world-wide federation of them.

In this modern world there can be no hard and fast line between foreign and domestic policy. A policy based on cold war gives us the garrison state. A domestic policy which gives the lie to our professions of democracy and equality of rights, and builds an economy which for all our boasted affluence leaves two-fifths of our people below the line of oppressive poverty, is crippled in its struggle against communist or fascist aggression throughout the world. It is in the light of these truths as well as of our great national wealth that our general trade as well as our cold-war policies should be examined.

The great communist drive for power, aided by some American blunders, is now the absorbing concern of the American government and people. But we Socialists repeat our insistence in our 1960 platform that if there were no communist imperialism to compete with what we miscall "free enterprise," that is, a far-flung capitalism, there would be great strains on peace because of the tremendous "revolution of rising expectations" which expresses itself most forcibly in revolt against colonialism but also against an intolerable burden of poverty and economic exploitation. It is one of the happier facts of the years since 1945 that so much imperialism has been liquidated with so little violence. For this mankind owes more than it realizes to the British government under the Labor Party.

The Colonial Yoke

There remain, however, important areas to be freed from the colonial yoke; and to those who struggle in them for freedom the Socialist Party pledges its sympathy and all forms of practicable support.

In the Congo we approve in general the present policy of the United Nations. An independent Congo should not be the creature either of international communism or of capitalist mining interests working behind native rulers.

In Algeria we applaud the settlement worked out by De Gaulle and the Moslem Algerian government. We condemn with horror the brutal terrorism practiced or encouraged by European Algerians and call upon America's ally, France, to use whatever strength is required to crush this despicable European resistance in order that the terms of settlement may be honorably carried out. We thank the Moslems in Algeria for their extraordinary restraint, under provocation deliberately intended to drive them into counter-violence and a renewal of war.*

The immediate threat of a large-scale war of annihilation rises from communist aggression. That aggression is backed by enormous military power in Russia and China—two communist nations which, however, because of differences between them, are far from constituting completely unified power. Yet the great gains of communism since World War II have not resulted from Russian armed aggression (although Russian force was outrageously used against rebellion in Hungary), but by victories within nations in which strong parties have first been

* Since this platform was adopted peace has been consummated between France and Algeria, but a constructive program for a weary people has been jeopardized by internal factional strife. Political independence is no social cure-all.

won to communist ideology. This type of aggression cannot successfully be fought by nuclear bombs.

Our great battle with communism is ideological and it cannot be won by identifying democracy and respect for human rights with capitalism—not even with the somewhat modified capitalism which prevails in America after the New Deal, and its establishment of a welfare state by the appropriation of ideas formerly regarded as socialist. American propaganda for democracy against the ruthless communist totalitarianism suffers enormously from the facts that 1) so many Americans debase democracy and freedom to the level of mere anti-communism, and include such nations as Saudi Arabia and Franco's Spain among the free people; 2) they persist in volubly (and falsely) equating democratic socialism and totalitarian communism; 3) so obviously many of communism's haters in this country act from love of power and private profit rather than from any true love of mankind.

Socialism Versus Communism

The Socialist Party renews its insistence that in democratic socialism lies the strongest defense against communist totalitarianism, cruelty, and disregard of human rights. To the degree that the U. S. by its policy shores up dictators, corrupt governments, and great landlords in the underdeveloped sections of the world it invites a defeat which no attainable military strength can indefinitely forestall. What the U. S. needs and what capitalism, decked out as "free enterprise," cannot supply is a philosophy of human development in underdeveloped lands.

Peace has been the subject of eloquent and doubtless subjectively sincere speeches by our President and other high officials. But actions speak louder than words. Our nation claims great superiority in nuclear weapons,

but it has inaugurated fresh tests. It insists on its right to tamper with the universe by high "rainbow" explosions affecting the Van Allen radiation belt despite vigorous objections by British and other scientists. It drives forward on a shelter campaign, proclaiming its hope that 40 million of our citizens might emerge from man-made shelters into a horror of destruction.

All of this does far more to increase the danger of war than to guarantee any safety. Our policy in action seems to much of the world the posture of a nation ready to consider thermonuclear war, even pre-emptive war, if it does not have its way.

The lifeline to peace must be braided of four strong strands: 1) universal disarmament down to a police level for preserving peace in nations and between nations; 2) a steady strengthening of international organization, the United Nations, so that it can substitute law for war in our present anarchic world of absolute nation-states; 3) orderly disengagement from American military commitments around the world which are more likely to lead to war than peace; 4) increased engagement in the holy war against poverty, illiteracy and disease around the world.

Disarmament

In the popular mind all over the world disarmament is most intimately tied to peace. Support for it is growing, and with reason. The world is no safer, while nations play with nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological weapons, than a kindergarten where children play with loaded revolvers. Armament races may be originally the expression rather than the causes of national fears and suspicions, but often they in themselves have tended to be causes of war—so the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Grey, declared the Anglo-German naval race to be before World War I—and unquestionably total disarmament

along the U. S.-Canadian border contributed mightily to settlement of bitter boundary disputes. Almost all the world has given lip service to disarmament. It has been subject to repeated unsuccessful negotiation since World War II. However, the Soviet Union and the U. S. have agreed to principles of disarmament and the Antarctic continent is subject to an effective treaty, barring military experimentation on it. The Soviet Union and the U. S. have at last placed their respective programs, worked out in considerable detail, before the Geneva conference of 1962.

Yet agreement at that conference is unlikely. The nations are too far apart on procedures and timing. And though there is great public acceptance of the desirability of disarmament and what Eisenhower, Khrushchev, and Kennedy have all called the "unthinkability" of war, as yet there is neither an emotional nor practical basis for effective general disarmament in the attitudes of governments or peoples; nor will they yet accept any substitute for the grim arbitrament of war in their conflicts.

On the contrary, there is in the U. S. another obstacle to disarmament and that is the ironic fact that on the arms race, which does so much to keep the world poor, so many Americans believe their jobs and their prosperity depend—this in a world in which, properly used, a relatively small proportion of the 117 billion dollars spent annually by nations rich and poor on their arms races might rapidly wipe out poverty.

It is essential to disarmament that there be in this country an economic program for the transition from the arms race to a peace race. The newly constituted Disarmament Agency should be instructed to keep such a program up-to-date.

If we must expect the final treaty on disarmament to drag there is the more reason to keep up pressure for

continuing or renewing negotiations. Meanwhile the U. S. can do a great deal to change the climate of negotiation by what have been called unilateral initiatives, that is, acts toward peace not in themselves destroying our military might but clearly showing our desire to end the cold war on its military level. The greatest of these acts would have been if the U. S., the power which initiated atomic war, should have refused to add to its immense capacity to overkill by further tests in the atmosphere. These tests carried on by any nation on whatever excuse constitute a kind of declaration of war on mankind by reason of the dangers to the living and their descendants in further nuclear fallout. In thus answering the iniquitous Russian tests, our government assured further Soviet tests and opened wide the door to the nuclear club. Thereby it has made more likely the fulfillment of Sir Charles P. Snow's prediction that with the continuation of tests "in six years other nations, including China, will have the bombs and in ten some will go off."

The struggle against "tests, East or West" must go on and it should be supplemented by other acts of the United States to show how sincerely we seek to lessen tensions and make possible a general disarmament backed by the citizenry of the world. The Socialist Party pledges itself to a policy of thorough discussion of such initiatives and active support of realistic proposals.

Strengthening the U.N.

We do not think it possible or desirable at this juncture in history to set up a world government as centralized in power as the U. S. now is. We do think it possible, and essential, to strengthen the U. N. in the confidence of the peoples and in its power to substitute law for war. This is in

part a matter of education of the people in our own and other countries. The U. N. was founded on the gamble that the Big Three, the U. S. A., the U. S. S. R., and the United Kingdom, which held together to win the war, would hold together to maintain the peace. This hope was frustrated by the rapidly developing cleavage responsible for the cold war, sharply accentuated by Stalin's tactics. The vital Security Council was rendered almost useless by repeated Soviet vetoes. The wonder is that the U. N. and its agencies have done as well as they have in serving peace and promoting international cooperation.

The U. S. can immediately strengthen the U. N. by its purchase of bonds as originally proposed by President Kennedy and by its repeal of the Connally reservations under which our government makes itself judge of what cases involving it, it will allow to go to the World Court. Beyond this lie problems which would seem to involve charter revision for a fairer system of representation of nations, the strengthening of power to arbitrate disputes, and the creation of a police force directly under its control.

There is also room for properly organized regional federations under the U. N., e.g., a United States of Europe and a developed Organization of American States, and for multi-national agreements on trade, etc., but care should be taken that they do not conflict with a growth in the strength of the U. N. to deal with problems of universal importance. An interdependent world requires an inclusive world organization to supplant an anarchy of absolute nation-states or blocs formed by them. It is, to take an outstanding illustration, an idle dream to think that we can get properly controlled disarmament under a U. N. which does not include the effective government of China.

Disengagement

Since World War II the U. S. A. under a mixture of motives has assumed military obligations all over the world to contain communist expansion. Many of these commitments run beyond our wisdom or strength to maintain by military force at any price we can afford to pay. The President himself has wisely said that we were not omniscient or omnipotent, yet we tend to play that role around the world. Indeed, some of our programs, put forth in the name of fighting communism, actually help the Communists.

In Laos, the U. S. invested 300 million dollars in the support of an unpopular and corrupt regime. We purchased big cars for our friends, we supported a coup d'etat, we drove Laotians who had been sympathetic to democracy toward the Pathet Lao. Likewise in South Vietnam we have backed the Diem regime which with its nepotism, its harassment of political opposition, and its forced removal of peasants from their villages, has been unable to carry on any kind of effective policy against the Viet Cong. In Laos the immediate situation requires the creation of an authentic neutralist regime whose integrity will be guaranteed by both power blocs.* In South Vietnam the U. S. must back democratic social reform and political freedom, not the Diem regime. We do not believe that America should "turn its back" on the people of Southeast Asia or of anywhere else. Rather we believe that a combined program of disarmament and social change, supported by the U. S., is the only meaningful alternative for the new states of the colonial revolution. We shall not serve democracy or peace by our engagement

* The peace arrangement between the Laotian factions was signed after this platform was adopted.

in protracted jungle war in Southeast Asia.

It is obvious on the one hand that many of these world crises would virtually disappear in a disarmed and federated world, and on the other that while they are acute they block emotionally and practically any substantial progress in disarmament negotiation. So closely tied are disarmament, disengagement and the strengthening of the U. N.

The question of Berlin is an example. It is right to defend the freedom of access to West Berlin. But war would mean almost certain destruction of the city. The one best chance of dealing with the problem of Berlin and Central Europe still lies in plans for demilitarizing Central Europe (like Austria) with phased withdrawals of troops on both sides. Both the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations have summarily dismissed such plans and proceeded with the rearming of an originally reluctant West Germany whose Chancellor has become a serious threat to fruitful negotiation.

Our nation's most inexcusably dangerous commitment is to the absurdity that Chiang should still be recognized as president of China and entitled to represent her in the U. N. It is doubtful how justly he represents even Taiwan, where he has never risked a popular vote. He represents only the American Seventh Fleet.

In the light of such facts as these the Socialist Party demands of our government:

- The prompt beginning of negotiations looking to the seating on proper terms of the effective government of China in the U. N., and in the name of humanity an offer of food for the relief of famine. Proper terms would include some provision for Taiwan to determine its own status after peace prevails in the Far East.

Meanwhile it could be represented in the U. N. as Taiwan.

- Guarantees against repetition of the Cuban debacle of military intervention in that country or in other Latin American nations.
- Re-examination of military commitments under all existing alliances or bilateral treaties, reports to the people on them and on the reasons for them, and plans for progressive disengagement from them.
- *Increased engagement in the holy war against unnecessary poverty, illiteracy, and illness in the world.* This is a matter of more money but not wholly of money. In terms of human service, the Socialist Party hails the work of the Peace Corps and of hundreds of Americans rendering similar services under non-governmental agencies. We need men to use money well. Few responsible men in this field believe that more—if as much as—\$10 billion of American money annually can now be wisely used under proper conditions.

Foreign Aid

In respect to financial aid, the Socialist Party urges that:

1. Aid should be strictly economic, not directed to military build-ups. It should be sufficient for its purposes. Too little aid may actually make conditions worse in a world where, despite considerable aid, the gap between the have and have-not nations has widened since World War II.

2. As far as possible the excellent mechanisms of the United Nations should be used.

3. Aid except in cases of relief or desperate hunger or disaster should be directed to specific economic developments to raise the standard of living of the masses.

4. All gifts and plans must be direct-

ed toward the upbuilding of the country and not to the strengthening of the governing elite of the military and landlords. Recipient nations should be required to set up special agencies capable of honest and efficient administration.

5. Where the economy of nations obviously suffers from terribly regressive taxation and a feudal land system effective reforms must be instituted as a condition of any worthwhile aid.

6. Where the problem of the population explosion in already overpopulated nations is serious, the recipient nations should be urged to make available proper means and facilities for birth control.

The 4th and 5th of these specifications on aid apply with special force to many of our Latin American neighbors. The President's Alliance for Progress is in general on sound ground, and properly carried out may yet atone for the American support so freely given in the past to dictators and corrupt governments in Latin America so long as they showed respect to capitalist interests of North American corporations. On its economic and political side we believe that the Alliance for Progress could be strengthened by the development of the Organization of American States. To its economic benefits should be added an arrangement to put some floor under prices of major Latin American agricultural and mineral exports. The prices of products such as coffee, sugar, tin and zinc have been subject to great fluctuation to the hurt of countries largely dependent upon those exports.

The economic problem in our world is not merely a problem of the two-thirds of humanity who live in bitter poverty. It is a problem of freer trade among all peoples. The Socialist Party supports President Kennedy's approach to this problem which has also,

To sum up this section on foreign policy: A distinction between foreign and domestic policy at this juncture in history is a matter of convenience of description rather than of essential differences in policy or principle. Politics—in the most inclusive sense of the

word—does not and cannot stop at the waterfront. Not in a world which if it would live in peace and decency must give meaning to the truth that above all nations is humanity. Man by his own scientific skills has made it impossible to use great wars for other than the physical and spiritual destruction of humanity. This is the stark truth which now compels all men to work for a world with increasing cooperation and without war.

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